

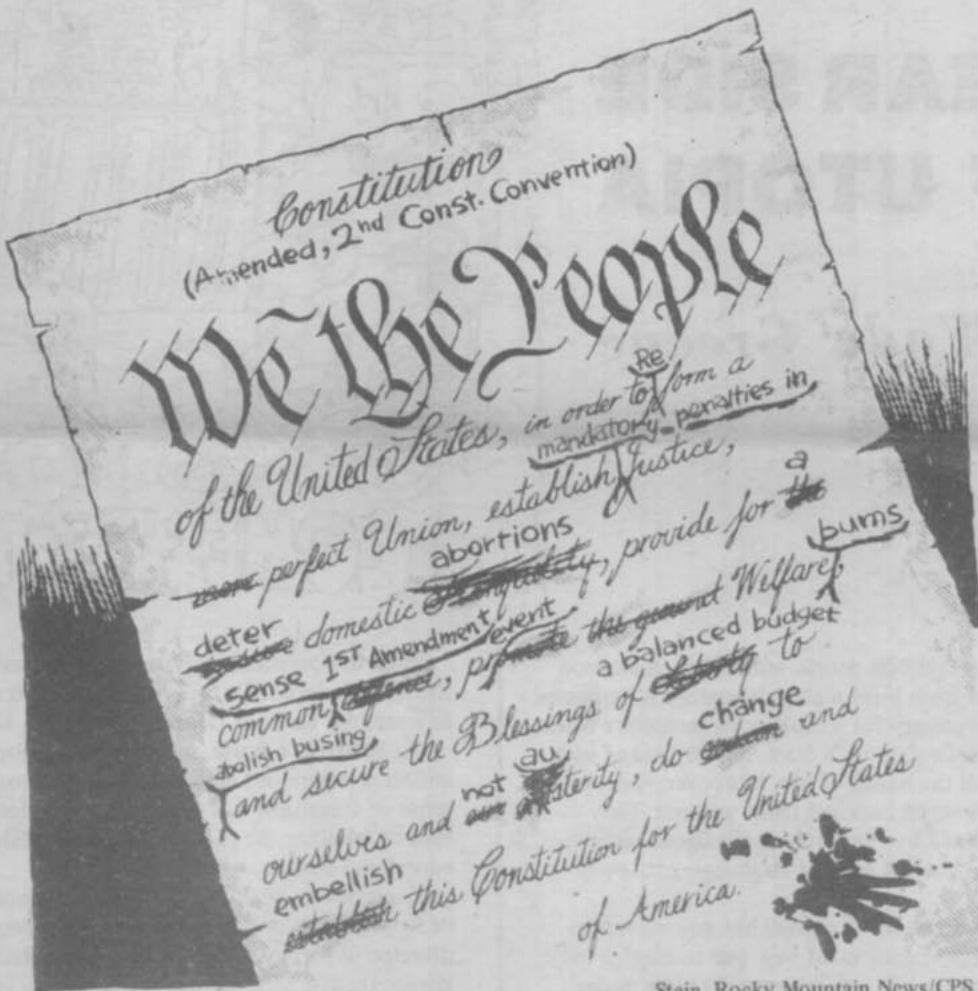
DC Gazette

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THE POLITICS OF APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY



Stein, Rocky Mountain News/CPS

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE WIZARD OF OZ

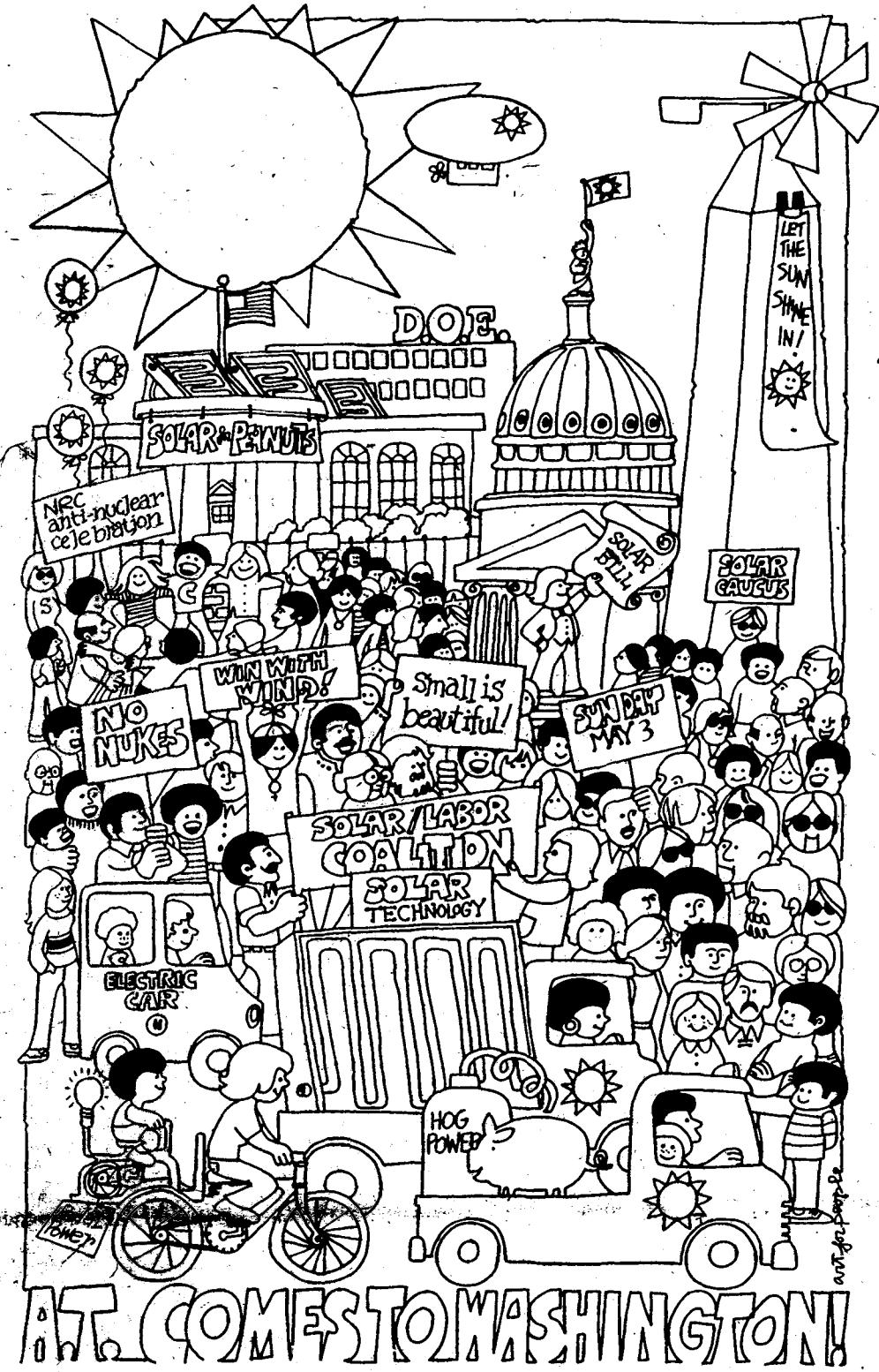
DC'S WINTER SOCIAL SEASON

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"BUCKING THE SYSTEM SINCE 1966"

THE NEAR SIDE OF UTOPIA

Wade Greene



IMAGINE, if you can, a region of, say, 100,000 people within which all food is locally raised, buildings are constructed from local materials, energy is harnessed from local power sources and all goods necessary for a healthy existence are made using locally available resources and skills. In theory, at least, inhabitants of such a region would have direct control over all the basics of life. Moreover, they would be free from influences that might otherwise be imposed from without. They could lead a free and self-fulfilling life guided by their own inclinations rather than the more impersonal, possibly self-alienating ones of large-scale, distantly controlled organizations and networks.

Such is the utopia glimpsed by many adherents of a small but growing movement which perhaps will prove to be the most important new one to emerge in the US in the last quarter of the 20th Century. The movement advances under the unlikely banner of technology — "appropriate (or alternative or soft) technology" or "AT" for short — but its aims are profoundly, if not always explicitly, political.

"Question authority" urges a bumper sticker I picked up at an appropriate technology fair last summer in Amherst, Massachusetts. It is an all-purpose, sociologized exhortation that could have come out of the rebellious sixties. And indeed, not far beneath the surface — a surface that I suspect for some AT questioners of authority is welcomed as protective coloring — there simmers in many AT breasts a sixties-style design to overhaul society. Not necessarily by confronting and overpowering existing institutions, but by rendering them technologically irrelevant. To apply sixties talk to AT's late-seventies goals, appropriate technologists see whole communities dropping out the system, to the point where they become the system themselves or, by standards of the anarchistic undercurrent of some AT thinking, the non-system. As a social movement, AT is "aimed at decentralizing economic and political power through the promotion of alternative/technologies." That the way one participant put it the other day at a gathering to discuss the politics of appropriate technology, a panel discussion, with cheese and wine, featuring some of the main political analysts of the movement, most of them sympathists as well.

As a conscious, inevitably self-conscious, movement, the AT cause has been active and growing in the US for more than two years now, from at least early 1977 when the late E.F. Schumacher, author of "Small is Beautiful" and the principal prophet of appropriate technology, toured the US for six weeks and drew large crowds in the name of smallness at every stop. That there was beginning to be a political significance to AT then was evident in the appearance at many of Schumacher's stops of leading politicians, including governors and US senators; at tour's end, Schumacher had a private audience with President Carter at the White House.

How did political analysts of the movement think it had been advancing since then, I wondered. To find out, I attended the panel discussion, which was held in a seminar room at George Washington University.

As befitting a cause, one of whose principal bywords is decentralism, no unanimous viewpoint emerged from the group. However, a general, troubled sense of transition was one common undercurrent, centered in part on the question of whether the movement's profounder aims may be threatened by its own superficial success.

Countless local, state and federal agencies have taken up the AT cause of late, or have at least invoked the name of appropriate technology. David Morris, co-director of the Institute for Local Self-Reliance, a Washington-based, AT-minded group, recited a list of new AT governmental programs and offices — even the National Science Foundation, a citadel of establishment science and technology, is currently considering a major program in appropriate technology — and ambiguously observed, "The movement is becoming institutionalized and increasingly dependent on the public sector." Craig Decker, who is producing a periodical and is working on a thesis at MIT on appropriate technology and community development, agreed. "There is a nice myth about AT being completely a grassroots phenomenon," he said, "but for better or worse, the impetus for AT is now coming from the government."

Another speaker, Mary Ann MacKenzie, indicated that she thought there was little evidence so far that the impetus has been for the better. She works for the

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Community Services Administration, parent body of the main federal AT organization, the National Center for Appropriate Technology, and on her own time she is the main coordinator of an informal Washington-centered group called Friends of Appropriate Technology (FAT). She said, "I've seen a lot of the good work that some of us have begun not necessarily destroyed but certainly disturbed by traditional politics." Later she elaborated: "What's happening in government, I think, is that they're allowing us to exist. . . [but] 99 percent [of government] is still going headlong in the opposite direction."

Not everyone was dubious about government's role in appropriate technology. Congressman George Brown of California, one of the House's principal advocates of appropriate technology, was represented at the meeting by an aide, Tim Lynch, who took issue with the notion that government involvement in appropriate technology was at best a mixed blessing. "In defense of institutionalizing the AT movement," he said, "there's a danger, but if we don't institutionalize what we're talking about, we won't be able to talk about it over a long period of time."

Inculcating an appropriate technological viewpoint into the agencies of government and politics was important, Lynch argued, because conventional technological approaches, powerfully embodied in such agencies, are subject to little challenging from within or without. "That's partly because the scientists and engineers and technicians have sold us on the idea that technology and science are value free, which is nonsense. R&D programs orient society with a set of biases, a set of values, and that's what is happening today in all the research institutions. They already have a vision of the future, which is what they're developing, and you've got to get in on the ground level and start changing [this vision]."

Lynch suggested that significant AT inroads into government not only were worth pursuing but were in effect already happening, at least in his home state. He cited Governor Jerry Brown's landslide reelection in November as evidence of the political power of AT thinking, noting that Brown's support of AT-styled alternative energy technologies, such as solar power, was a main campaign issue. Denton Morrison, a professor of sociology at Michigan State University, on leave to study the AT movement as a Woodrow Wilson Fellow in Washington, similarly saw AT political successes in the gains of the anti-nuclear movement. "I don't think anyone in their right mind would bet very much on the future of nuclear energy today," he said. "And the flip side of the anti-nuke movement is appropriate technology. It's very much part of the thinking of the anti-nukes."

In discussing politics and appropriate technology, the panelists tended to divide into two main camps, those who were looking at how politics was, or was not, furthering the cause of AT, and those who focused more on how, or if, alternative technology could change the nature, or composition of politics. A fundamental premise of the AT movement is that the nature of our society, including our economics and politics, is determined in large measure by our technology. We have large corporations and large centralized government, his view holds, because technology both permits and reinforces such conglomeration. One way to diffuse power, according to such thinking, is to develop and spread techniques and tools by which relatively small communities, even individual households, can be largely self-sufficient.

But at least two panelists, both British, doubted whether technology itself could be significantly changed without changing the power structures that determine what technological styles predominate to begin with. "The fundamental question, I would argue, is not over the appropriate type of technology, whether we want a hard technology, whether we want a mainstream technology or this, that or other type of technology. The fundamental question is who is going to have control over that technology. David Dickson, author of "The Politics of Alternative Technology" and Washington correspondent of *Nature*, the British science magazine, was the arguer. Colin Norman, a senior researcher at Worldwatch Institute, who wrote a recent report titled "Soft Paths and Hard Realities," seconded the notion. "Many AT technological solutions will fail because of an emphasis on using technology as a way of changing society, rather than the reverse. . . Unless you can introduce appropriate technologies along with social and political changes, such as cooperatives, community organizations, changing land ownership, changing the credit system. . . AT is not going to solve the problem."

Panelist Craig Decker, in assessing the political future of appropriate technology, saw the AT movement responding to such realizations and broadening its scope. "What's most likely to happen, and you see it happening already, is that the 70's have been a decade of different efforts to change society through technological means— technological assessment, the environmental movement and so forth. I think what you're seeing at the end of the 70's is a disillusionment with trying to effect social change through technical means and the energy moving towards more direct social action. . . I think probably as you move into the 80's you'll see people who have been advocates of AT and have been doing funky local things moving into trying to create national coalitions for social change."

Perhaps. Certainly Decker's prognosis reflects an inclination within AT ranks that was evident at the panel session itself — a desire to move beyond the impersonal arena of technology into more openly political concerns and activism. But my own sense is that this inclination stems mainly from early ATers who are long familiar with the movement's ambitious aims, impatient with its so far undramatic accomplishments and wary of its adoption by others, individuals and institutions, that they deem less truly guided by the visions and values of appropriate technology. The movement's main message has only begun to get across meanwhile, I think, and there is plenty for ATers to do to get it across before taking on society as a whole. The very idea that technology is not neutral and not necessarily dictated by the laws of science and the marketplace, that it may come in a range of styles and scales, that are subject to explicit, possibly democratic choice, is a profoundly unfamiliar and radical one that takes a long time to absorb in a society that has tended to leave technology mainly to the technologists and businessmen. This notion may prove to be the major contribution, with immense social and political implications, of the AT movement, and it is only beginning to penetrate the popular consciousness, I suspect, including that of the politicians and bureaucrats.

Meanwhile, as Professor Morrison noted, the movement apparently is benefiting from its appeal to a broad ideological spectrum and diversity of interests: alongside the barely restrained sixties-style activists are small businessmen, tinkerers, counter-culturists, human potentialists, environmentalists, and so forth.

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Decker made much the same point in assessing the movement's current strength. "The very way appropriate technology has had some of its successes," he said. "is that it's been nebulous enough to be many things to many people, and I think that's why it's attracted a broad base of support. Each person defines it sort of differently but they all say we're all talking about the same general thing."

But, he went on, this is a "double-edged sword. It creates a broader movement, but when you get down to specifics, you're going to have real tension within the movement."

Part of the internal politics of appropriate technology, in fact, would appear to be a vying by different interests that have found comfort, and perhaps shelter, under the AT umbrella, a vying to move the movement and take advantage of its current fashionableness to further more specific causes. And this is likely to cause tensions; they were there, I thought, beneath the surface at least, among the discussants, who represented, ultimately, different flanks of the movement. David Morris, for instance, the Institute for Self-Reliance co-director, much of whose work has been in Washington's poorer and blacker neighborhoods, took the movement and implicitly some of his fellow panelists to task, because the movement "still has not embraced equity as an issue."

Mary Ann MacKenzie reflected feminist priorities in openly berating the panel discussion's organizers for having only one woman, her, on the panel and even that as an afterthought. (I've seen the proposition that AT is inherently more feminist, or at least more feminine than conventional technology; the case is a bit metaphysical and metaphorical and I'm not sure I follow it, but it illustrates the eagerness to link other current causes with AT.)

In any case, at least one panelist, Professor Morrison, suggested that the cause of appropriate technology might best be furthered by keeping politics and government out of the act. "Maybe it doesn't call for a large political coalition in which you squeeze the power structure. You just let things happen." And at least one other, MacKenzie, suggested that not much would happen un-

GRAMMAR HOTLINE: The English Department at the University of Arkansas has set up a writer's hotline to answer queries about spelling and grammar. The phones are staffed by English teachers from nine to noon. Call 501-569-3162.

NATIONAL NUDE WEEKEND: Scheduled for July 14-15 by Free Beaches, PO Box 132, Oshkosh, WI 54902. The group promotes free beaches and publishes a guide to existing ones.

NO NUKES/SANE ENERGY 1979 CALENDAR: More than a calendar, it includes topical essays on a variety of subjects, listing of energy groups, periodicals to read, lunar cycles, historical dates etc. Four dollars from the Syracuse Peace Council, 924 Burnet Ave, Syracuse NY 13203.

RIGHTS OF TENANTS: 18th in a series of handbooks from the ACLU, this book covers leases, evictions, what to do if the heat fails in the middle of winter etc. Also discusses reforms being proposed. \$1.95 from ACLU Literature, 22 East 40th St., NYC NY 10016.

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til the current system (technological and otherwise) collapses from its own flaws. "My sense is that the system is going to collapse, and when the system collapses, there will be some of us who have some fragments of skills and community . . . and another lifestyle that will allow us to continue on."

By such thinking, not uncommon in AT circles, in the ultimate politics of appropriate technology, Utopia may after all have to wait on Armageddon.

WADE GREENE has been studying appropriate technology during a fellowship with the Alicia Patterson Foundation. This article courtesy APF.

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Prison writing

DAVID ARMSTRONG

THE UNITED STATES reportedly has a higher proportion of its people behind bars than any other nation in the world. Jamming our jails for crimes real and imagined, hundreds of thousands of convicts wait, and watch, and live by their wits in a far country of the mind most of us can only visit.

Some of them also write, and the results of their work can be profoundly unsettling. I have the evidence before me in a large, handsomely designed book called "Born Into a Felony: Access to the Society Within."

"Born Into a Felony" is the first national anthology of American prison writing. Consisting of poetry, short fiction, essays and tape-recorded talk, it is an ambitious book that was five years in the making. Thirteen major publishers turned it down because they said it would be too expensive to produce and, besides, prisoners aren't what's happening on the wine and cheese circuit this year.

Determined to see the book in print, co-editors Stewart Brisby and Walt Shepperd published it themselves. "I consider it the cutting edge of American literature," Shepperd told an interviewer. "Some excellent literature is being produced in prisons. There are prisoners who are writing 16 hours a day. The distractions are minimal as opposed to the outside world.

"Their work reflects where they are," Shepperd continued. "They belong to a prison culture. But what they're writing about is death, love and loneliness — familiar themes. There are connections between the society inside prison and the society outside. Prisons are a microcosm of America."

"Born Into Felony" is a big book. Its 160 11" x 14" pages offer drawings and photographs as well as words, and lots of white space

to breathe air into what would otherwise be a very claustrophobic volume. Ron Cayen's photos are especially striking, full of right angles of concrete and steel and the blunt faces of inmates looking you right in the mind's eye.

Readers familiar with the political battlegrounds of recent years will recognize some of the contributors: Erika Huggins, Susan Saxe, Yvonne Wanrow, Joan Little. Others are unknown, and excellent, writers and rappers like Tommy Trantino, Lucky Luckenbach, Janice Moore, J.J. Maloney, Doc, Kodjo.

As indicated by the book's title, the contributors are concerned with identity and survival in a subculture where both are at a premium. Their work is intensely personal, but not private, and artless in the sense that it is not concerned so much with technique as with honesty. Their language is gritty street-talk, quick and alive, except when they give into self-consciousness and say what is expected instead of what is felt. This happens, but not often.

There is anger here, but most of it is shared, rather than directed at the reader. "Some people who read the poems have been surprised," said co-editor Brisby, himself a former prisoner. "They expected a lot of stuff along the lines of 'off the pig.' Well, that's not what it's about. It's about the way people live."

The people who inhabit the society within have more than a passing acquaintance with violence and death, and keen survivors' humor. In "Eulogy for a Tough Guy," Daniel Klauck observes:

*Charlie died today at age 29
Hell, he didn't really die, he got killed
with a homemade shiv
by another convict
in the prison
and that's a little worse than just dying
at least he got out of prison, though*

All is not toughness and spiritual armor, however. For every flash-point of violence, there are long stretches of wakeful dreaming. People in the society within live that way, too. William Witherup writes:

*The light of a full moon
falls in the prison
Guards keep watch in the towers
licking the oil from shotguns
with their lizard tongues
Prisoners' hands reach out
of the barred windows, thirsting for the pure silver water of the
moon
Now and then a hand leaves and flies away silently, like the
wings of a snowy owl.*

Unlike, say, Patty Hearst's Prison Diary, Born Into a Felony is not likely to be excerpted soon in People, and distribution to bookstores is spotty. The book is available by mail from pulpartforms unltd., Box 6392 Teall Station, Syracuse, NY 13217, for \$5 a copy.

DC MENTAL HEALTH ASSN. will hold a conference on the DC mental health plan, March 17, Harambee House. The association has long been critical of the plan and concerned that it is not in compliance with federal guidelines. Info: 462-1122.

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THE FORTY YEAR OLD HIPPIE



BY TED RICHARDS



THE WINTER SOCIAL SEASON

THE WINTER HAS BEEN hard on all of us, but we feel especially sorry for the social groupies of Washington. Not only did they face last minute cancellations of elegant engagements due to the snow, but Paul DeLisle left the Sans Souci, Ardesir Zahedi deserted the Iranian Embassy, the New Republic revealed that nothing important happens at Washington parties and a bunch of couthless farmers came to town and ruined the lawn.

Official Washington will probably survive the passing of Paul, although the dailies treated it with a solemnity unmatched since Rome lost its own Paul a few months back. We suspect that what truly upsets those who care about such matters is that Paul chose to bail out before official Washington was tired of him. He declined to wait for the city's elite to turn its flighty attention elsewhere, thus depriving it of its cherished potential to break, as well as make, power.

Art Buchwald, for reasons best known to those who write endlessly about these things, managed to survive the incident rather well, using it to stir up yet more speculation and reportage on his eating habits. Richard Cohen, who writes endlessly about most things, even went so far as to accompany Buchwald to Stouffer's on a reconnaissance mission and then told all about it except the size of the tip.

Why Buchwald is the accepted gastronomic standard of the federal enclave is a matter best left to social historians of a later era. Buchwald has many virtues but dietary discretion and wisdom would not appear to be one of them. We like to think that it has all been a great satiric adventure on his part, a joke on the corpulent capital that it failed to get, a little like giving Nero violin lessons.

Meanwhile, up on Massachusetts Avenue, the Paul of the night shift, Ardesir Zahedi, has also departed. A major difference, however, is that the press comment has been curiously restrained considering the number of inches he had previously received in *Style* and *Portfolio*. Betty Beale alone seemed properly berieved in her send-off. The problem, in part, may be that Zahedi was as efficient as he was generous and is said to have made lists of gifts to politicians and press people that were left behind when the unpleasantness began. Reportedly, the sums involved fall short of Tongsun Park's beneficence but the added factor of pay-offs to reporters certainly makes it a story worth more attention than it has received. If nothing else, it makes an interesting journalistic issue: should one admit that one was just plain stupid about Iran or confess to being on the take?

But the press, as with past revelations of reporters

working with the CIA, is markedly reluctant to wash its dirty copy in public so we can look for it to be handled in-house, as they say here, if at all.

The hospitality of Ardesir Zahedi was, from all accounts, of the sort that could make one forget the SAVAK, unless, of course, one happened to have had direct contact with it. Zahedi was obviously well aware that one doesn't discuss torture over canapes. In a sense, what he did was a variety of the old barroom scam; he kept slipping the official city Mickey Finns, keeping it too doped to give a damn.

One of the problems with mixing business and pleasure, as is so often done in the federal enclave, is that politicians, bureaucrats and the press tend to forget that there is no direct correlation between charm and policy or, say, between hospitality abroad and human rights at home. Matters of conscience get all muddled up with the quality of the catering service until few can tell the difference.

Of course, Zahedi was not alone. Official Washington long ago convinced itself that something important happened at its parties, a view that has been fostered by such inveterate party-goers and power enthusiasts as Arthur Schlesinger Jr., who has said, "This is the war-gaming of occasions where the sternest purpose lurks under the highest frivolity... As every close student of Washington knows, half the essential business of government is still transacted in the evening."

Given that half was supposed to have been transacted at Sans Souci during the noon hour, that doesn't leave much for the office. But now comes Art Levine, bless him, in the New Republic to say that this just isn't true. In a fine review of Lucy Moorehead's book, "Entertaining in Washington," Levine writes: "Mrs. Moorehead's book is an earnest, but hilariously wrong-headed effort to perpetuate these and other illusions about Washington life. The real truth is that if so much business is indeed transacted at night, it doesn't mean that the parties are so important. Rather, it shows just how trivial the work really is."

A brief piece of advice from Ms. Moorehead: "If you plan on live music, get the best, like Michael Carney or Peter Duchin, top orchestra leaders who play all over the country. Don't get a second-rate group because you'll save a hundred dollars [because] you can't do anything if your orchestra comes in, sets itself up and instead of a lifting sweep of sound produces a somnambulant beat."

A brief statistic from Art Levine: An evening of Peter Duchin's music costs \$6500.

Moorehead goes on like this throughout the book, apparently, and Levine reports that, ironically, it has been a social disaster for her: "It turns out that Lucy Moorehead has committed a terrible social gaffe by destroying the illusion that she and her friends are serious people... Mrs. Moorehead transforms her friends into lifeless mannequins, chattering about their dinners and their servants, so they seem to have little of the charm she attributes to them... What



Lucy Moorehead worms out of Washington's 'secretive upper crust' is how obsessed they really are with food and entertaining. . . Perhaps Arthur Schlesinger Jr.'s dictum should be revised. It is not that half the essential business of government is transacted at parties. It is that the essential business of government is parties, at least as it is practiced by many people in Washington."

Which is why, perhaps, they did not realize it when Ardesir (one of Moorehead's models, incidentally) slipped them a Mickey.

But enough about high culture. What good is it, after all, without some low culture to give it its sense of superiority? Enter the farmers, who failed to realize that protesting is *de classe* and *passee*.

If you read the Post, especially, what came through was a sense of the total inappropriateness of it all, the desecration of the Mall, the affront to the automobile and, of course, the expense of tolerating all this crudity.

If nothing else, the coverage of the protest went a long way towards explaining why the farmers felt compelled to come to Washington in the first place. If they strongly suspected that Washington didn't understand their problems before they arrived, they now know it. The Post got things off to a bad start with a snotty editorial entitled "The Farmers' Tantrum," which pursued a sort of selective Adams Smith economics that is common among the nation's large publishers i.e. farmers should sink or swim but God forbid we end the failing newspaper act's exemption of publishing conglomerates from the anti-trust laws.

The editorial gentry of the Post displayed near total misunderstanding of the farmers' plight by harping on the cost of their tractors and irrelevant statistics such as the ratio of the farmers' debt to the value of their land. Not only did the Post year towards advocating a return to the horse-drawn plow but it ignored the crucial role that government, agricultural schools, manufacturers and the media have played in teaching farmers to be as capital intensive as they are. Indeed, many farmers have gone overboard but basically they have only been doing what the experts told them to do. If the Post had been seriously concerned about appropriate technology for farmers it might have devoted a bit of the space given to shopping for developers in its housing section to a column of information for the farmers the developers were about to displace.

The debt ratio issue is irrelevant for the simple reason that the value of a farmer's land can not be realized until it is sold, which tends to be counterproductive to the farmer continuing to farm it. It is not surprising that the Post missed the point, since once again in its own circulation area, it has generally been more receptive to new shopping malls (which advertise) than to the retention of farms (which generally don't).

About the only local writer who seemed to have a handle on what was happening in the protest was that erstwhile country boy, Edwin Yoder Jr. of the Star, who wrote a sympathetic column which quoted that other great journal of the urban gentry, the New York Times, as admonishing the farmers that "to shield [them] from the consequences of their own mistakes, or to guarantee their incomes against the vagaries of weather, makes no more sense than to subsidize a haberdasher who stocks the wrong fashions or to compensate Ford for betting on the Edsel." Said Yoder: "The sentiment is, to say the least, dangerously un-Jeffersonian." And he quoted the Emporia Gazette's response to the Times: "It is interesting that the folk in New York City, who are constantly at the federal trough, begrudge the poor farmers a share. It is what country folk call a dog-in-the-manger attitude."

The Post not only failed to have any elementary empathy for the farmers' concerns; it used the protest to revive its own peculiar constitutional thesis that the rights of the individual must be balanced against the rights of the automobile. This argument, which dates back at least to the days when the Post was busy getting freeways built, was most strongly stated during the days following the infamous May Day affair when 13,000 people were illegally arrested here, herded into makeshift concentration camps and denied the most basic constitutional rights. The Post has never wavered from its view that it was more important to get the commuters into town than it was to preserve these rights and, for the benefit of any who doubted where it stood, it took a similar hard line against the farmers. Fortunately, the police, if



MILTON COLEMAN SAID WHAT?

not the Post, appeared to have learned something from May Day and handled the affair with more discretion. But should they choose to run amuck again, they can be reasonably assured that the Post will be on their side.

Next to the traffic congestion, the thing that bothered the Post most was the public cost. Again, a certain selectivity enters. Not only are 'benign' public events, like a Shriners march, exempted from such cost analysis but the absurdly high cost of the government's own attempt to influence the views of the people is seldom examined. If one considers the cost of flackery in the federal government — the price of telling the government's side of the story to the people, the cost when people come to town to talk back pales. Of course, the press gets well treated by the government flacks and the press returns the favor. Perhaps if the farmers had hired a public relations firm here in town, someone who could speak the press's language, it would have understood what the farmers were talking about.

Further, the cost analysis itself breaks down when you examine it closely. For example, when the farmers were here before they parked on the streets. It slowed traffic but kept the Mall nice. It was the government that made the decision to let the tractors park on the grass. The whole cost of this decision can not be laid to the farmers.

Then there was the belated Post story that revealed that one of the things that was running up the costs was the large number of cops who were sitting around with nothing to do. One was quoted as saying, "We are suffering from total boredom." Once again the price of boredom should not be assessed to the farmers.

In sharp contrast to the approach of the Post, urban black leaders showed some curiosity and interest in the demonstration. We're told that Maynard Jackson told the farmers something to the effect that we all came over on different ships but we're in the same boat now. DC Mayor Marion Barry commented, "I understand the problems of not being able to survive. I understand that in this country, the media and others force you to do something." Even Walter Fauntroy donned a billed hat and tried to sound rural. The black pols did not seem to take offense at the size of the farmers' tractors and seemed more intrigued by the size of a possible new coalition. Strangely, however, this most interesting aspect of the demonstration got buried in the news traffic on traffic.

For the Post, it remained only for Richard Cohen to deliver the coup de grace, which he did in a column telling the farmers rather testily to go home. Cohen abandoned his fond *mea culpa* stance as he righteously told the farmers to bug off. It was a serious mistake — since Richard is truly at his best when he is feeling deeply sorry for what he does or thinks — and he quickly realized it as the farmers sent a tractor around to show him their side of the story. This good-natured response to Cohen's babbles

was perhaps inspired by the agriculturists' earlier encounter with Philip Geyelin who apparently gave them cause to suspect that the Post's position stemmed more from ignorance than venality. In any case, it worked like a charm, with yet another Cohen column in which he revealed the true extent of the Post's knowledge of farm matters: "The farmers wanted to talk to me, he said. They would send a tractor, he said — a green John Deere, whatever that is." Cohen by the end of his column, was back to his old groveling self.

Fortunately, for the farmers and all of us, nature intervened to give us some respite from this nonsense. We were reminded that we too could be affected by the vagaries of weather, that we could survive even if our traffic flow was occasionally impeded, and that there were some good reasons for having a big tractor if you had to move around on surfaces not created by the federal highway trust fund. The farmers went around town being extremely helpful, we did without milk, bread and eggs for a few days, and even at the Post there seemed to be a more friendly attitude towards the farmers. In a rather unique way, the farmers had managed to become socially acceptable.

It would be unfair, or at least irregular, to end this round-up of socio-cultural notes from the federal city without mention of the President. The President, you may recall, was at one point determined to set a different social tone here, but this hope got somewhat waylaid what with Bert Lance, brother Billy and Hamilton Jordan's underwear and all. Worse, from the point of view of a new moral foundation, is that during the Carter administration separations or divorces have been announced by the Califanos, Blumenthals, Jordans, Krafts and Chip Carter and his wife. We haven't noticed any late comment on this by Mr. Carter, but Associated Press recently recalled what he said when he was asked about rumors of a pending separation early in his term: "Rosalynn and I have invited the family to come over and let the children play with Amy and let us show them that you can have an aggressive, dynamic, competitive political career and at the same time maintain your allegiances and your obligations to your own family duties."

A cynic might point out that it is considerably easier when you work at home, but it's nice to know that at least one of those in power understands that keeping a family together is just as simple as running the country.

—WALDROP FENSTER

DON'T TEAR IT DOWN is urging people to send letters and petitions to Oliver Carr (Oliver Carr Co., 1700 Penna. Ave. NW, DC 20006) urging him to retain the historic facades on 15th Street, where he is planning yet another development. DTID is worried that, despite public attention to the issue, Carr won't save them.

THE FINAL report of the Tax Revision Commission is now available for \$3 from the Secretary, City Council. Make checks payable to DC Treasurer.

dc eye

It's a little early yet to assess the relationship between housing chief Robert Moore's words and his actions, but if his policies are half as direct as the way he talks about them, the muddled-up days of Lorenzo Jacobs are already fading fast. When, for example, was the last time you heard a city administrator say that he was running a "significantly overstuffed agency" — and promise to slim it down? Moore doesn't mind being controversial. He told a housing group recently: "We're going to move into areas with displacement and decentralize the middle class. . . There's going to be no area that isn't going to have low income housing. Georgetown, Upper Connecticut Avenue. . . We're going to have marches and protests. All the liberals are going to become conservatives, all the humanists are going to become racists."

Housing issues, he notes, change people's attitudes. Then he adds with a smile, "We're going to move our office up to 12th Street; maybe they won't want to march there."

If that sounds a little like another Moore in town, there's a difference. This Moore has actually run a big city housing program, in Houston, and he seems as comfortable with the intricacies of the bureaucracy as he is with his rhetoric. And he's not afraid to challenge conventional wisdom. On zoning, he is skeptical and notes that he just moved from a town without zoning where people would say, "You have zoning and it's just going to be changed." He commented on the number of variances there are under zoning and the potential for corruption.

Asked during his speech to the Metropolitan Washington Planning and Housing Association whether the mayor shouldn't enunciate a policy against displacement, he said that the mayor had already spoken out, but added, "It's good, but enunciation never stopped capital."

He questioned rent control (although he said controls were still needed), remarking that "A lot of people are making money out of it." He was critical of the lack of planning for the area around the proposed convention center and the Pennsylvania Avenue Development area. We've only got so much money in the pot, and if it all goes to Pennsylvania Avenue what will be left for 14th Street?

And he really warmed up in discussing the planned plaza in front of the District Building. He promised to "lay down in front of the District Building if they build that plaza," which he said represented an abuse by an architect trying to memorialize himself. Like we said, the housing scene here is going to be different.

Bechtel, the international firm that has been supervising construction for Metro, has been sued for \$32 million by Portland General Electric and Pacific Power & Light, charging that Bechtel failed to design the Trojan Nuclear Plant's control building to meet fed-

eral earthquake standards, resulting in the plant's shutdown from April 1978 to January 1979.

Talk is growing that Walter Fauntroy's style and strategy are among the major stumbling blocks to passage of the DC constitutional amendment. Critics say Walter is wrong to try to sell the amendment as a civil rights issue and that whites and Republicans should be more prominent in appearances around the country. One suggestion, not likely to be taken, is that Fauntroy announce that he will not run for the Senate if the amendment is passed.

A tip of the hat to Marion Barry for deciding to attend meetings of the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Commission, so there would be someone to look after the city's interests there for a change. At his first meeting, Barry helped to kill the absurd pylons the commission was planning for the west end of the avenue.

Mary Prahinski, who is running for City Council in Ward Four, reports that Rock Creek has been smelling bad of late and that raw sewage has been backing onto 16th Street and North Portal Drive. She says that "the reason may be that a privately owned sewage plant started discharging its effluent into Rock Creek" last year. Plans for this plant were first revealed in an article in the Gazette by Mary's husband Ted. Last fall, Judge June Green of the US District Court threw out a DC government suit against the plant, saying that the city had not shown that the city was suffering any irreparable harm. Prahinski says the new scum and smell may prove otherwise.

Two of Marion Barry's key aides, Bob Moore and city administrator Baby Rogers, are products of a unique, successful but little-known program at Howard that was begun in the late sixties by Dr. Roy Jones. Jones's idea was that the civil rights movement would inevitably lead to an increase in black administrators in city governments and he wanted people to be ready for it. The program, funded by the federal government with assistance from COG and the International City Managers Association, was a mixture of academic training and intensive field work. As part of the latter, students would shadow a local official, like PG County's Winfield Kelly. They were given, in effect, an old-fashion journeyman apprenticeship.

Jones now heads a firm here called Social Systems Intervention Inc., and his assistant, Beth Ausbrooks,

runs the urban studies department at UDC. Their effort appears to have paid off. Three of the first five students are now city managers. Others are in high level jobs from Kalamazoo to the governor's office in Little Rock. And when Marion Barry went shopping for assistants, two of his most important ones were graduates of this low-keyed but imaginative program to provide a new urban black leadership.

Marion Barry wasted no time doing something specific about housing and teen-aged unemployment. In his supplemental budget request, he asked for \$2 million to start a program of downpayment loans for middle-class home purchasers. You'd have to be making between \$15,000 and \$32,500, buying your first house and be able to match the loan, which could be as high as \$7500. Three percent interest. Although the amount in the budget is small, it represents a significant turn-about in the city's lack-lustre housing policy, especially if the program turns out to be as popular as it might. . . Barry also asked for \$11 million to provide jobs for teenagers. In both cases he noted to the council that there had been an excessive reliance on the use of federal funds in the past. How true.

We received a nice Valentine from Zero Population Growth and Planned Parenthood. On the outside it said simply, "Love." On the inside, the word "Carefully." Oh yes, a red condom was attached. It was all to help celebrate National Condom Week, just one of the many weeks we've celebrated recently. Marion Barry put out a list of these weeks of which he was taking official note including DC Chamber of Commerce Week, Zimbabwe Refugee Week, Children's Dental Week, Vocational Education Week, Distributive Education Take Over Day and Junior Achievement Day (well, everyone can't be a week), Catholic Schools Week and Prayer Vigil Week. Barry tactfully designated National Condom Week as "Planned Parenthood Week" as well as declaring Black History, Heart and Peace Corps/Vista Months. And that was just for January and February. Come March, we hear, Betty Ann Kane is going to try to get us an Irish Heritage Week. Ethnicity and rubbers are breaking out all over.

Professional collegiality seems to be wearing thin among architects. The Washington Post reported recently that Arthur Cotton Moore pulled out of a show on local architects at Barbara Fiedler's after reading Chicago architect Stanley Tigerman's comments about his work in the catalog: "all quite competent and in good taste and will surely offend no one." (Architects are supposed to be discreetly offensive from time to time). What the Post didn't say was that another top-name local architect refused to join the show after he heard that Arthur Cotton Moore was going to be in it. And you thought politics was bad.

Keep an eye on Jorge Carnicer, who recently became the largest stockholder at Riggs — about 10% worth. Most of his stock is actually controlled by FinAmerica Corporation, which is involved in banking, cattle ranching and manufacturing and is owned by Argentinians. Asked whether he was worried about a takeover at Riggs, chair Vincent Burke told the Post that he was not.

A friend trying to get scholarship aid for her son who is going to college says he didn't meet the financial standards. The reason: his parents' house on Capitol Hill has risen in value from \$18,000 to \$85,000 in seven years. Oh well, if they really care about education they can move to PG County.

CORRESPONDENCE

Wilson sets us straight

I noted with some displeasure your item on the District's alleged \$40 million surplus in the March 1979 issue of the DC Gazette. Your snide characterization of my proposed legislation, the "1978 Budget Surplus Act," ignored several pertinent facts.

1) The fact that the more substantial portion of the rebate goes to lower income District residents (those with an adjusted gross income of \$15,000 or less) who receive a rebate of 20% on the income taxes they paid; and, to federally subsidized non-profit rental housing which houses over 20,000 District families of low and moderate income and receives a 100% rebate of all real property taxes paid.

2) \$7 million of the \$40 million surplus resulted from increased real property taxes paid by owner-occupants merely returns part of the surplus to those whose payments helped create it.

3) The homeowner rebate does not apply to all homeowners, but rather only to those who both own and live in their homes, i.e. owner-occupants.

I believe that these facts clearly show that the proposed rebate is geared to help those DC taxpayers who are most in need of financial assistance. The rebate act certainly does not constitute a social program for the wealthy as your article tried to imply.

JOHN A. WILSON
City Council, Ward 2

(Looks like we blew it. We retract our snide characterization with apologies to John — Ed.)

ALTERNATIVE ENERGY CONFERENCE: Heathcote Center and the School of Living, Freeland, Md., April 27-May 5. \$90 cost, including food, tuition and lodging. Info: 301-329-6041 or write Heathcote Center, 21300 Heathcote Road, Freeland, Maryland 21053.

Barry's snow job

About two decades ago, in the midst of a gubernatorial campaign, a big hurricane hit Maine. The then governor of the state, a fellow named Reed, took a helicopter trip and surveyed the damage: trees, down, homes and businesses destroyed, orchards ruined, commercial and pleasure craft wrecked along the coast. Governor Reed landed at Portland airport and told waiting reporters that the situation was not as bad as he had expected. Not too many weeks later, Ed Muskie was elected governor and Reed was never heard from again.

Fortunately for Marion Barry, his comments on the Blizzard of '79 did not occur during a campaign. He has almost four years in which to recover.

"This is going to go away in some days," he told the Post's Milton Coleman as they drove through snowy streets. Mayor Curley, up in Boston, once said something like that. His view was, "The Lord brought it, let the Lord take it away." Curley, though, had not just squeaked through a primary.

To put the best construction on Barry's remarks he was speaking from the viewpoint of one who knew how hard city workers had struggled with inadequate warning and inadequate equipment. But even some of these workers knew that no matter how hard they worked, the results were not, as Barry called them, "fantastic." The Star talked to one of them, supervisor Luke DiPompo, after he had been going for more than 24 hours with only coffee and a stop at MacDonald's to sustain him. He said, "We can do a better job than this." He took the words right out of what should have been the mayor's mouth."

After reading (on a day when the temperature was about to hit 60 for the first time this year) mayoral press secretary Florence Tate's letter to the Post about the Coleman interview, we feel slightly more sympathetic towards the mayor, but not much. Florence attempts to justify Barry's remarks by suggesting that they were goaded out of him by the "inert" Coleman and there is an implication that Milt abused the mayor's hospitality in giving him a lift by quoting casual conversation.

In fact, during a good portion of the interview, Coleman had his notebook out and was using it in the sight of the mayor. Further, Tate does not question the quotes, only their context — the context of a kindly mayor giving a reporter a ride on a snowy day and being harassed by questions until he says things like, "Well, Milton, they can walk," just as Florence puts it, "to SHUT THE REPORTER UP"

Unfortunately, there is more to it than that. Even under duress a mayor should not look at the city's worst snow in recent memory and say, "It's not a crisis." (Unless he is using the kind of definition offered by a representative of the British rails during a recent strike. There was no chaos, he said, because "You can only have chaos if you have people and trains, and today we had neither.")

And even a harassed politician does not say things like, "There are more important things for me to worry about than snow," without at least a germ of the idea rolling around in his head.

And there's the problem. It's not really a question of snow at all, or how it is removed. It's a question of whether the mayor can feel what the city is feeling at times like these — or whether he has become a prisoner of his own government, unable to see beyond the difficulty of the job and the efforts of his people to do it. He could have praised the government workers even while admitting that much more needed to be done and sympathizing with the ordinary citizen. Instead he chose sides — the bureaucracy's — and ended up sounding like Bill Simons does when he says that it's not the teachers' fault that the kids aren't learning. You expect that of a union leader, but the mayor has broader duties.

We have no quarrel with Florence's assessment that "The mayor and the entire administration are necessarily aware of the hardship endured by the city through a rather trying period for us all" and we are beguiled by the literate defense of her boss right down to the stirring declaration that "Mayor Barry loves this city and its people — including Milton Coleman" but, unfortunately, the best public relations is to say it right the first time.

A friend who follows the city closely told us that the whole incident made him think of John Lindsay. Lindsay was, like Barry, a man of great potential who inspired considerable hope. But the Lindsay Administration also had a certitude about its own virtue that insulated it from much that was going on in the

city. In the end, it was part of its undoing, as, parenthetically, was its inability to deal with snow removal. And, of course, not long after Barry's misadventure with Coleman, the mayor of Chicago received a graphic lesson in the political significance of snow.

We have a lot of hope invested in the Barry administration so it matters to us that the mayor not da-

image the good things he wants to do by seeming over-defensive, cocky and indifferent. We'd like to suggest a principle — one that should be something like this: if you can't be competent, at least be compassionate and if you can't be either, then shut the hell up. Especially if Milt Coleman is in the car.

Next round in the convention center fight

All those signatures collected to force a public vote on the convention center will come to naught if the city council fails this month to put the issue on the November ballot. Efforts to bring the matter to the May election were stymied when the courts ruled that the petitions were not legal since the city council had not passed enabling legislation for the new referendum and initiative provision of the city charter.

One of the reasons this enabling legislation has not been passed is because many on the council did not want a referendum on the convention center. Now the legislation is moving towards a vote, probably March 13, and Hilda Mason will attempt to amend it so the already-collected signatures will be valid for a fall decision. Convention center opponents are urging people to pressure council members to support this amendment. Among those that need to be talked to are Jerry Moore, Dave Clarke, John Wilson. If this effort fails, you can kiss \$100 million plus good-bye.

The whole convention center boondoggle is becoming more bizarre by the day. Marion Barry sent up a supplemental appropriations measure that includes money for a convention center staff — even though the council hasn't approved this aspect of the plan. Among the items is money for a director and if you work it out on a full year's basis the job will be paying \$63,000 a year, making it one of the better patronage plums in town.

Of course, everyone is studiously trying to avoid noticing the convention center being built with private funds by the Sheraton Park, even though it will provide considerable competition for the Astrodome and vice versa.

Then there's the memo sent out by an official of the Southern Historical Association which announced the organization was shifting its next convention from DC to Atlanta because of the high hotel rates here. You may recall that Marion Barry and other council members voted a hotel tax in order to help pay for the convention center which was supposed to bring more hotel business and so forth.

Finally, no sooner had the noble Jack Phelan and his anti-center forces lost in court then Jack got a call from the Board of Elections saying that he would have to get his petitions out of their office immediately. Phelan explained that neither he nor his wife were able to come downtown and he was told that

the board would then deliver the petitions to his porch. Phelan got on the phone to Barry's election man, Phil Ogilvie, who apparently tried to straighten the matter out. But not quite. Next thing he knew, Phelan got a call from the board saying he couldn't get the petitions without a court order. But we guess you have to expect a few foul-ups when everyone's working so hard to get the thing built before it's discovered that it's not needed.

The council has backed off from a confrontation with the mayor on the legality of his extensive reorganization of the city government shortly after taking office. Good-will triumphed over principle. The problem was that Barry failed to submit his plans to the council as required by law. Matthew Watson, the city auditor, wrote council chair Arrington Dixon and told him that the reorganizations are not effective until the proper procedure is followed. While it's all very well to have a honeymoon, this sort of thing can come back to haunt one — as a bad precedent, element in a law suit, or problems on the Hill.

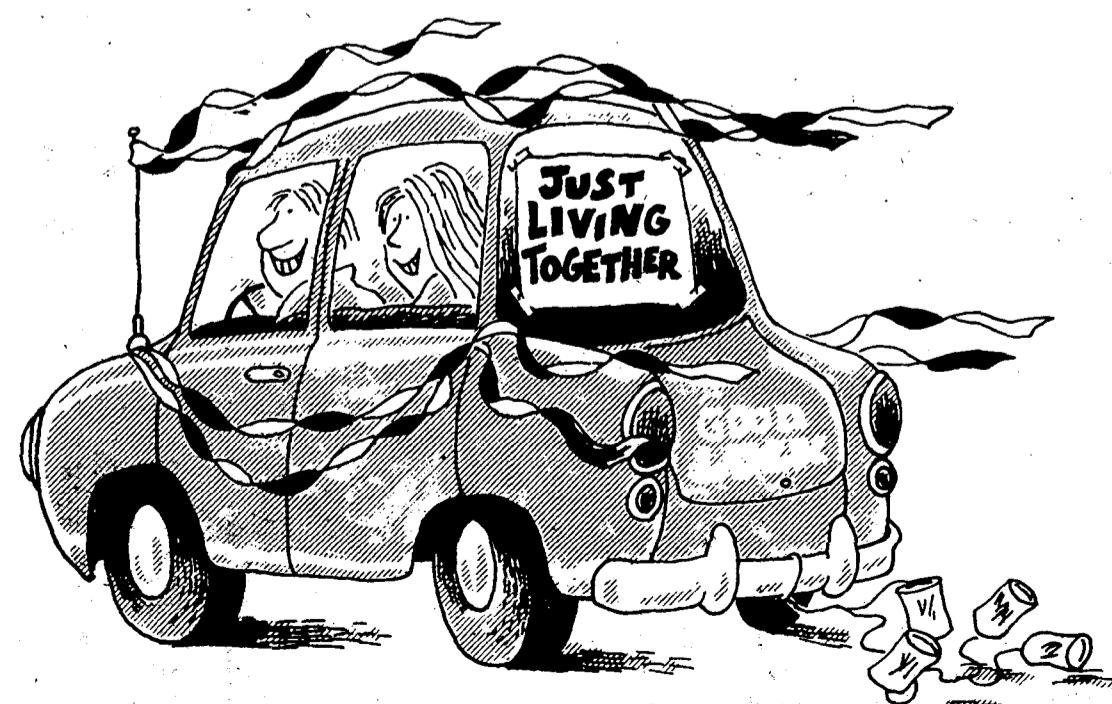
Everyone had such a nice time at the City Hall farewell party for Walter and Sterling that no one seemed concerned that the party organizers, headed by Nadine Winter, hustled up thousands of dollars of free goodies from the food and liquor industries for the event. After all, it was non-partisan, wasn't it?

WORKING CULTURES

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Apple Pie

An American Report



THE TWO DOLLAR BILL has turned out to be a turkey. Retail stores didn't like using them so most are now sitting around in bank vaults. Some 400 million of the bills were printed in 1976 but none since then.

BY LAW, Swedish men are allowed to draw ninety percent of their normal pay if they wish to stay home and take care of a new infant. It's part of a major effort on the part of the Swedish government to involve men in child rearing. When the plan started five years ago about 2 percent of eligible men took part in it; now the figure is up to ten percent.

MILFORD WOLPOFF, who's an anthropologist at the University of Michigan, says a part of our problem is that our teeth are too big for our jaws. Prehistoric humans had to chew unprocessed food, so they had big jaws, mouths and teeth. Now we have the same number of teeth but a much smaller mouth and jaw because we eat food that is soft and mushy. As a result, he says, modern humans are plagued by overcrowded teeth and constant dental problems. Wolpoff speculates that the human mouth will eventually evolve with fewer teeth. He says humans could actually get along with just twelve teeth: "Why do we need a lot of teeth chew most of our food? You can eat a McDonald's hamburger without any teeth."

MAJORITY REPORT, the feminist newspaper in New York, has started charging \$2 for each word in a classified ad it finds objectionable. The normal ad rate at MR is \$3.80 for 19 words. But you have to pay two bucks if you want to use any of these words: butch, black, bisexual, dominant, femme, French-anything, handsome, hermaphrodite, marriage, passive, slim, sincere, stud, submissive, soixante-neuf, tendencies, transvestite, virile and white. The newspaper editors say they want to discourage ads with those words, but they don't want to interfere "with the First Amendment rights of citizens offering us hard cash."

THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS reports it has located a witness to President Kennedy's assassination who claims he was ordered away from the grassy knoll in Dealey Plaza by a Secret Service agent moments before the shots were fired which killed President Kennedy. The witness, identified as Gordon Arnold, is the first person to claim that a man apparently impersonating a Secret Service officer, was securing an area on the knoll even before the assassination. At least

four other witnesses — including two Dallas police officers — have stated they ran to the top of the knoll immediately after the shooting and confronted a man who was flashing Secret Service credentials.

GAYSWEEK, the publication that was temporarily denied a trademark by the federal government on the grounds that the name was "immoral or scandalous," is now doing battle with the private sector. Newsweek magazine says it will go to court if necessary to block use of the "Gaysweek" title. Says the title is too close to Newsweek "both phonetically and in appearance."

DR JOHN McCALL of the University of Cincinnati is, in his words, just "taking some proactive steps to enhance the University's output with simpler input on the part of facilitators." What this means is that McCall has started levying 25 cent fines against deans and administrators who use the words "input" and "feedback" in other than their accurate, technical meaning. If the offending word is on copies, there is an additional fine of one cent per copy. That was just for January. In February he was planning to add "hopefully" and "proactive" to his proscribed list. McCall says his plan is working. Already an administrator recessed a meeting briefly to collect a fine from another administrator who reported an input. One dean sent McCall a dollar as advance payment for four mistakes he felt certain he would make. And McCall himself has been fined for writing, "It is also worth noting that course work in English as a second language is offered for students whose academic progress might be enhanced by supplementing their communicative skills."

AUTHOR JOHN MARKS is crediting the CIA with triggering the psychedelic revolution that swept US campuses during the sixties. Marks has written a new book on the CIA, "The Search for the 'Manchurian Candidate.'" He says that the agency's experiments with LSD in the 1950s created much of the international market for the mind-altering drug. In his book, Marks speculates that without the CIA experiments — most of which were carried out on college campuses — the drug oriented culture of the sixties might never have started.

A NEW IRS RULING says that people who barter services — like a lawyer writing a will in exchange for some plumbing work — must list the value of these services on their income tax forms. Accountants and tax attorneys say, however, that the IRS will have a hard time enforcing the law in this area.



Photo by Ken Light/LNS

A NUMBER OF TIMES, anti-nuke protesters have used the "lesser of evils" arguments in defending themselves against charges of trespassing and other violations of the law. Now, for the first time, the defense has been accepted by a jury. It happened in a case involving twenty protesters who were arrested at the

Zion Nuclear power plant, 30 miles north of Chicago. The protesters argued that it was necessary for them to trespass and break the law in order to dramatize the dangers of nuclear energy. The defense maintained that the protesters' breaking the law was less evil than the threat of imminent danger posed by nuclear power plants. Several jury members said after the trial that they feel the Zion reactor is a danger to public health and safety. The jury acquitted the protesters.

Dumb to be born late

A REPORT OUT OF THE National Institute of Mental Health tells us that the first-born child in small families — along with only children — tends to be a bright over-achiever. But for those of us who didn't make it to this vane ahead of our siblings, there is some compensation. Later born children tend to be more popular. All of which, perhaps, may help to explain the Carter family.

NO ONE ELSE SEEKS to have noticed, but liberal warhorse Joe Rauh pointed out in a letter to the Washington Post that the 'Old China Hands' who were so smeared during the McCarthy years were conspicuously absent from the various festivities staged for the world's newest Coca-Cola distributor, Teng Hsiao-Ping. Rauh mentioned John Stewart Service, John Patton Davies, O. Edmund Chubb and the late John Carter Vincent as people "who understood the situation in China in the 1930s and 1940s and reported with insight and honesty that Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-Ping and his communist allies and armies would take over China and develop a nation that had to be reckoned with, even by the United States of America. . . . When demagogues like Joe McCarthy and Richard Nixon succeeded in driving those men out of office and in equating Chinese-American relations with treason, they thereby lengthened by decades the time for the normalization of relations with China. The final irony, of course, is that Nixon was there at the normalization, but not the 'Old China Hands.'

CHARLIE HART WRITES FROM GADSDEN, ALABAMA: Have reread your October British scrapbook, so send these quotes. Spent two weeks there in 1972 and can remember everything about it like it was just six years ago!

The Truth About the Wizard of Oz

PETER DREIER

WHETHER they are fans of Judy Garland and "Over the Rainbow" or prefer the recent \$20 million black film with Diana Ross and "No Bad News," almost all Americans know the characters from "The Wizard of Oz." But few are aware that the story was originally written as a political allegory.

It may seem harder to believe than the Emerald City, but the Tin Woodsman is the industrial worker, the Scarecrow is the struggling farmer, and the Wizard is the President, who is powerful only as long as he succeeds in deceiving the people.

"The Wonderful Wizard of Oz" was written by Lyman Frank Baum in 1900, during the collapse of the Populist movement. Through the Populist Party, mid-western farmers, in alliance with some urban workers, had challenged the banks, railroads and other economic interests that squeezed farmers through low prices, high freight rates and continued indebtedness.

The Populists advocated government ownership of railroads, telephone and telegraph industries. They also wanted silver coinage. Their power grew during the 1893 depression, the worst in US history till then, as farm prices sank to new lows and unemployment was widespread. In 1894, Jacob S. Coxey, a Populist lumber dealer from Massillon, Ohio, led a mass march of unemployed workers to Washington to demand a federal works program. That same year President Grover Cleveland called in federal troops to put down the nationwide Pullman strike — at that time the largest strike in American history. As the Populists saw things, the monopolies were growing richer, and the workers and farmers even poorer.

In the 1894 Congressional elections, the Populist Party got almost 40 percent of the vote. It looked forward to winning the presidency, and the silver standard, in 1896.

But in that election, which revolved around the issue of gold vs. silver, Populist-Democrat William Jennings Bryan lost to Republican William McKinley by 95 electoral votes. Bryan, a congressman from Nebraska and gifted orator, ran again in 1900, but the Populist strength was gone.

Baum viewed these events in both rural South Dakota — where he edited a local weekly — and urban Chicago — where he wrote Oz. He mourned the destruction of the fragile alliance between the Midwestern farmers (the Scarecrow) and the urban industrial workers (the tin man). Along with Bryan (the Cowardly Lion with a roar but little else), they had been taken down the yellow brick road (the gold standard) that led nowhere. Each journeyed to Emerald City seeking favors from the Wizard of Oz (the President). Dorothy, the symbol of Everyman, went along with them, innocent enough to see the truth before the others.

Along the way they meet the Wicked Witch of the East who, Baum tells us, had kept the little Munchkin people "in bondage for many years, making them slave for her night and day." She had also put a spell on the Tin Woodsman, once an independent and hard-working man, so that each time he swung his axe, it chopped off a different part of his body. Lacking another trade, he

"worked harder than ever," becoming like a machine, incapable of love, yearning for a heart. The Wicked Witch of the West clearly symbolized the large industrial corporations.

Like Coxey's Army, the small group heads toward Emerald City where the Wizard rules from behind a papier mache facade. Oz, by the way, is the abbreviation for ounce, the standard measure for gold.

Like all good politicians, the Wizard can be all things to all people. Dorothy sees him as an enormous head. The Scarecrow sees a gossamer fairy. The Woodsman sees an awful beast, the Cowardly Lion, "a ball of fire, so fierce and glowing he could scarcely bear to gaze upon it."

Later, however, when they confront the Wizard directly, they see he is nothing more than "a little man, with a bald head and wrinkled face."

"I have been making believe," the Wizard confesses. "I'm just a common man." But the Scarecrow adds, "You're more than that. . . . you're a humbug."

"It was a great mistake my ever letting you into the Throne Room," admits the Wizard, a former ventriloquist and circus balloonist from Omaha.

This was Baum's ultimate Populist message. The powers-that-be survive by deception. Only people's ignorance allows the powerful to manipulate and control them.

Dorothy returns to Kansas with the magical help of the Silver Shoes (the silver issue), but when she gets to Kansas she realized her shoes "had fallen off in her flight through the air, and were lost forever in the desert." Still, she is safe at home with Aunt Em and Uncle Henry, simple farmers.

Baum realized perhaps the silver issue had been lost, but that silver was not the crucial issue anyway. The Populists had been led astray — the real question was that of power. With the Wizard of Oz dethroned, the Scarecrow rules Emerald City, the Tin Woodsman rules in the West, and the Lion protects smaller beasts in "a small old forest." In Baum's vision, farm interests gain political power, industry moves west, and Bryan, perhaps, returns to Congress.

Baum's characters resonated with American popular culture at the turn of the century. He even displayed an early sympathy for native Americans of the plains, symbolized in the story by the Winged Monkeys in the West, whose leader tells Dorothy, "Once. . . . we were a free people, living happily in the great forest. . . . This was many years ago, long before Oz came out of the clouds to rule over this land."

The story remains intact in both film versions, but the message had disappeared. Ironically, the first film was made in 1939, during the next major depression, when business was once again challenged by farmers, industrial workers and progressive politicians.

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Peter Dreier is an assistant professor of sociology at Tufts University where he teaches a course on film and politics.

From Women Look at Psychiatry/LNS



These Puritans, the queen had complained, were "overbold with God Almighty, making too many subtle scanning of His blessed will, as lawyers do with human testaments. . . . We have to explain to ourselves why unprotected Rievaulx was not molested by the Yorkshire countryman. The Yorkshire countryman might hate the Norman hawks with ineradicable hatred; but the hawks were too strong. The Yorkshire countryman might have plucked the sitting pigeons, the isolated monasteries, but he didn't. Why? I am at one of those roundabouts in the road and have to make a choice of speculations. I am going to speculate about cheese. (The Great North Road: A Journey in History by Frank Morley, McMillan 1961)

At home. . . . an American thinks heaven is where he ain't, and when he's somewhere else besides home he thinks heaven is what he's used to. (A Texan in England by J. Frank Dobie, 1945)

In matters of religion, Isaac D'Israeli was a Voltairean, in matters of politics a Conservative; but any form of government was good in his eyes if it allowed a man of moderate fortune to go on making, without being disturbed, a collection of literary anecdotes. (Disraeli: A Picture of the Victorian Age by Andre Maurois, Appleton, 1928)

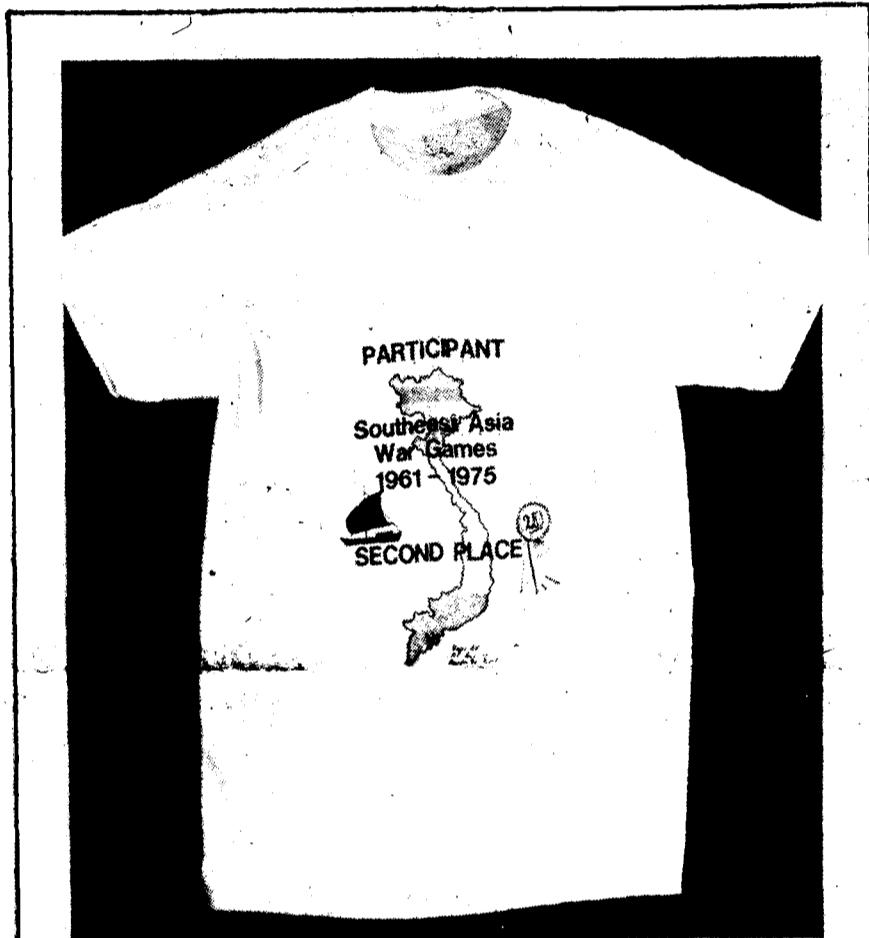
We disputed about poems. Sheridan said that a man should not be a poet except that he was very excellent; for that to be a mediocris poeta was but a poor thing. I said I differed from him. For the greatest part of those who read poetry have a mediocre taste; consequently one may please a great many. Besides, to write poems is very agreeable, and one had always people to call them good; so that a man of a tolerable genius rather gains than loses. (Boswell's London Journal: 1762-1763)

HERE'S A BIG ITEM FOR SPRING: An elevated sandal that turns into a roller skate at the push of a button. The things are called pop wheels and reportedly have a thick sole into which the wheels disappear when you just want to walk.

The Italian manufacturer, Omnia-C, reports it will ship enough pop wheels to the US to meet a nationwide spring blitz, anticipating that 20 million Americans will want them. The company says that already, Californians alone have snapped up 20,000 pairs of pop wheels at \$37 a pair.

CARLOS VARSAVSKY has solved it all. Turns out the trouble is that we have the wrong number of days in a week. Varsavsky proposes that we switch to a nine-day week, a move that will end traffic jams, cut unemployment and reduce worker absenteeism. You would work six days a week and then take three off, and the new weekends would be different depending which shift you worked. Result: no more traffic jams on the bridges to the beach. One problem: organized religion may not like it; so Varsavsky — who is an astrophysicist, industrialist and economist — suggests religious services every three days. Varsavsky points out that the week is the only calendar event not set by astronomical factors and that the Romans got along quite well with an eight-day week. He's got a grant from the Ford Foundation to work it all out.

FROM JIM RIDGEWAY'S energy and natural resources newsletter, The Elements (just up the street at 1747 Consh. Ave., NW, DC 20009), comes word that xerox machines, if in a state of disrepair, can emit excess levels of ozone which leads to clogging of the lungs, eye irritation, and damages to the nervous system. But there are no links to sterility. . . . Jim also reports that the mayor of LaRochelle, France, experimented with free bicycles for the town's population, but the bikes were either stolen or vandalized.



The shirt above was designed by Bruce Brown, who spent over three years in Vietnam as a helicopter door gunner, earning 11 campaign medals and the Air Medal. Since he introduced the shirt last year, Brown has received thousands of orders from Vietnam veterans. The orders came from admirals, buck privates, generals and residents of federal penitentiaries. He says he gets quite a few reorders too, largely as a result of shirts destroyed by people with different points of view. Along with the orders comes the hate mail. . . . and even an occasional death threat. He routinely turns them over to the FBI. It's the hate mail, though, that bothers him most. Says Brown, "The odd thing about the hate mail is that none of those people were ever in Nam." You can order the shirt, in various sizes, for \$6.95 from The Watash, P.O. Box 869, Bonita, CA 92002.



BY TED RICHARDS



THE ENGLISH PUNK ROCK group, Generation X, has announced it will no longer play at concerts in which the entire audience is not seated. According to the band's leader, Billy Idol, the past practice of allowing people to crowd around the front of the stage has been the cause of much of the violence at rock shows. Another punk group, The Clash, has another way of dealing with the problem. Whenever a fight breaks out in the crowd, the band stops playing and turns the spotlight on the fighters. If this fails, the group plays "the most boring song we know" until the crowd quiets down. According to The Clash's Popper Headon, one sure-fire violence-stopper is a Bob Dylan song, "The Man in Me."

GOT A NICE NOTE from Alfred Friendly Jr. concerning last month's Flotsam & Jetsam column. He suggests that "one's ex-wife's mother's ex-husband might simply be an *erstkin*." Perfect. He also notes a certain tendency for the Gazette to use the letter 'a' in words where the letter 'e' or 'i' actually belongs, e.g. "inherant" for "inherent." This is an aspect of language mutation that your editor did not discuss, perhaps because it is a little embarrassing for him. You see, under his picture in his high school yearbook is a quote from *Winnie the Pooh*: "You can't help respecting someone who can spell Tuesday even if he can't spell it right." Most papers can afford to have someone around who knows how to spell "inherent," but the Gazette struggles along looking up "guarantee" every time it appears but forgetting to check on "inherent." We will say, however, in our defence, or defense, that writers as distinguished as Benjamin Franklin, Walt Whitman and Mark Twain have spoken out against consistency in spelling. Walt Whitman thought that caring about consistency was a form of dandyism and Twain said that spelling words the same way was like always

wearing the same clothes or cooking each meal exactly alike. We share their opinions, especially since, after all these years, there doesn't seem much choice.

THE FOLKS AT National PIRG have written us to point out that they are, indeed, the National PIRG which provided the Energy Resources List we published in the January issue and not the local affiliate as we seemed to have implied. Sorry.

Boycotting the baby bottles

LYN HOLBEIN of Newton, Massachusetts writes: Multi-national corporations have found a new way to make big profits — by persuading mothers in developing countries to bottle-feed rather than breast-feed their babies. Most third world women get their water from dirty rivers or polluted streams, so instead of drinking sterile breast milk, their babies drink formula mixed with contaminated water. Fuel for sterilizing the water and bottles is expensive, refrigeration is rare, and many women are unable to read the label's complex directions for preparing the formula safely.

Moreover, formula for just one baby can cost half of a third world family's income, so often the formula is diluted to make it last longer. Bottle-fed babies lose the immunities to disease which mother's milk provides, while the mother loses the contraceptive effect of breast-feeding. So instead of drinking clean, free breast milk, which is nutritionally balanced even when the mother is somewhat underfed, the baby is fed diluted, contaminated formula. The result, for an

THE JANUS PLOT

ARTHUR HOPPE



IT WAS FOLLOWING the most recent change of governments in Iran that the State Department conducted an exhaustive review of American successes abroad since World War II. The result was a bold and daring new foreign policy that was to make the US the most feared and respected force in world affairs.

Named for its innovator, Deputy Secretary Al Janus, the ingenious technique was launched by a telephone call to the victorious Ayatollah Khomeini in Tehran.

"Hi, there, Ayatollah," said Janus. "This is the US State Department calling and, boy, do we ever have good news for you!"

"Aha," cried the Ayatollah. "At last you infidels are removing your imperialistic noses from the internal affairs of our glorious Sixth Century Islamic Republic."

"Not exactly," said Janus. "After supporting the shah for 38 years, we were dreadfully sorry to abandon him in order to achieve a stable government. For five weeks. And it really hurt us to have to abandon it when you put the heat on. But no hard feelings. We want you to know that in the period of turmoil that lies ahead, you can count us to back you to the hilt."

"By Allah," said the Ayatollah suspiciously, "is that a threat?"

"Now, look, Ayatollah, I know our intelligence hasn't been 100 percent on the button these past 30 years. But, honestly, Chiang Kai-shek was no more surprised than we were when the Communists kicked him off the mainland despite our all-out help. But as President Kennedy said to our anti-Castro Cubans after the Bay of Pigs, 'Well, you can't win 'em all.' It's too bad Thieu couldn't see it that way, too."

"Too who?"

"You remember Thieu. He was one of the greatest little presidents of South Vietnam we ever had. Him and good old Lon Nol over in Cambodia. Lon was that fellow we backed against Pol Pot. Of course, now we're backing Pol Pot against the Vietnamese."

"And now you want to back me?"

"By George, yes! We're going to give you the same all-fired support we gave the Biafrans against Nigeria, the Somalis against the Ethiopians, the anti-Communist Angolan rebels against the Communist Angolan rebels, the Kurds against the Iraqis and the assorted former leaders of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Umbrella-stan against their enemies."

"But everyone you've backed has been a loser. By the Beard of the Prophet, you won't get away with this."

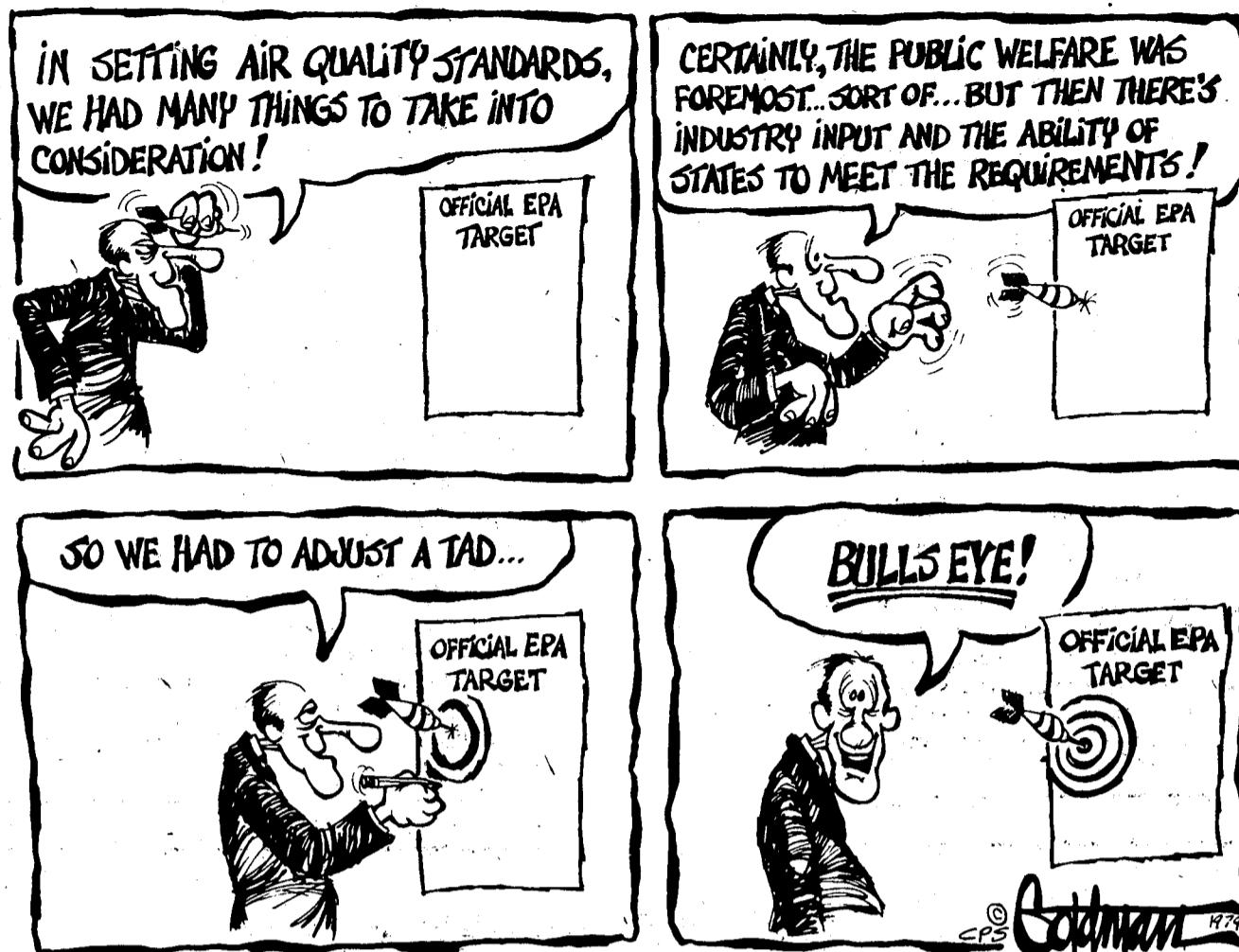
"Gosh, Ayatollah, all we want to do is help. As we now say in the State Department, 'If you can't lick 'em, back 'em.'"

Needless to say, the new foreign policy worked like a charm. Three weeks after the US announced its "wholehearted support" for the Ayatollah, he was on a permanent skiing vacation in Gstaad. Disillusioned Iranians returned the shah to power and once again the oil flowed properly westward as the weaponry flowed properly eastward.

A grateful America promoted Janus to Secretary of State. But he still enjoyed making his own phone calls:

"Hello, Fidel? This is the US State Department calling and, boy, do we ever have good news for you!"

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estimated ten million babies every year, is disease, malnutrition and often brain damage or death.

Among the tactics in their sales pitch, companies distribute free samples to hospitals so that newborns may be bottle-fed from birth. The mother is then sent home with a free sample which will frequently last until her milk dries up. After the sample is gone, she finds that she can no longer breastfeed, so she has no choice but to depend upon formula which she cannot afford to buy or use safely.

The problem first came to light in the early 1970s when doctors and missionaries in the third world realized that hospital wards were filling with sick babies who had one thing in common — bottle feeding. Church groups began sponsoring stockholders' resolutions aimed at forcing the American formula companies — American Home Products, Bristol-Myers and Abbott — to change their promotional practices. Meanwhile, the Infant Formula Action Committee was formed to put pressure on the giant in the market, Nestle (which is Swiss-owned, and therefore not subject to American stockholder resolutions).

One sign that the pressure is beginning to be felt is Nestle's recent abandonment of direct advertising. Bristol-Myers has stopped the use of milk nurses, citing pressure from INFANT's campaign. INFANT, which now has groups in virtually every state in the country, distributes literature, provides speakers and lends the film "Bottle Babies" to organizations. In the DC area, information, literature and the film are available through Clergy and Laity Concerned, 1322 18th St. NW, DC 20009.

Colleges ranging from the University of Pennsylvania to the University of Minnesota have responded to student pressure by banning Nestle products from cafeterias and vending machines. At several schools, including Wellesley, trustees have used college-owned stock to support shareholder resolutions aimed at getting the formula companies to change their promotional practices. At Harvard, 1850 students signed an anti-Nestle petition.

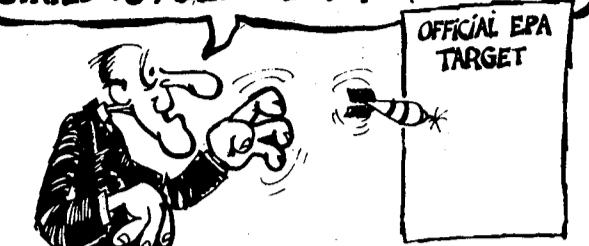
While gaining endorsements from individuals as diverse as Dr. Benjamin Spock and Cesar Chavez, INFANT still derives key support from churches. The governing board of the National Council of Churches recently joined national groups of Presbyterians, Methodists, Lutherans, Congregationalists, Unitarians and some Catholic groups in endorsing INFANT's demands and the Nestle boycott.

Two-state solution?

KEN GILES is a member of Breira and Temple Sinai in DC. He recently spent four weeks traveling with a delegation of American Christians and Jews who support a two-state solution to the Middle East conflict. He writes the Gazette: After visiting four Arab countries, the occupied West Bank and Israel, I am convinced that a two-state agreement (a Palestinian state in the West Bank/Gaza and Israel within the 1967 borders) could bring peace to the Middle East. PLO leaders told us that they were ready to create an independent Palestinian state which would live peacefully with Israel; and Israeli peace activists told us that most Israelis would accept such an agreement if there were guarantees (such as demilitarized zones or peacekeeping forces) for Israel's security. When we traveled through the West Bank we heard unanimous support for a two-state solution. These views were shared by Israeli peace activists. One Israeli, David Shabot of New Outlook magazine, suggested that as many as 80% of all Israelis would support a two-state solution if there were security guarantees for Israel.

Of course, there are negative forces on both sides. The PLO continues to use violence, which triggers violent Israeli reprisals. Israel continues to create and expand West Bank settlements and to oppose full self-determination for Palestinians. The rejectionists on both sides cite these negative forces as reasons why a two-state agreement will not work.

CERTAINLY, THE PUBLIC WELFARE WAS FOREMOST... SORT OF... BUT THEN THERE'S INDUSTRY INPUT AND THE ABILITY OF STATES TO MEET THE REQUIREMENTS!



SO WE HAD TO ADJUST A TAD...

OFFICIAL EPA TARGET

BULL'S EYE!

OFFICIAL EPA TARGET

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The moderates on both sides, however, keep offering positive gestures to each other and looking for positive responses. They all agree that the US could help promote the two-state solution by announcing support for eventual Palestinian self-determination in the West Bank/Gaza strip; supporting security guarantees for all states; opening a dialogue with the PLO to reinforce the moderate voices who support a two-state solution; encouraging the fullest possible autonomy during the transition period on the West Bank — including power over land ownership, water rights and the return of displaced persons.

ACCORDING TO DR. Daniel Kripke of the Veterans Administration Hospital in San Diego, too little or too much sleep can kill you. According to a six-year study of the matter, adults who sleep less than four hours a night have a 180 percent greater danger of dying than those who sleep seven-to-eight hours a night. Those who sleep ten or more hours a night are 80 percent more likely to die prematurely than the seven-to-eight hour sleepers.

DOCUMENTS RELEASED under the Freedom of Information Act reveal that approximately three accidents occur every two weeks in the US involving radioactive shipments. The documents were obtained from the Department of Transportation by Ralph Nader's Critical Mass Energy Project. According to them, in less than five years, there have been more than 328 transportation accidents involving radioactive materials. And 118 of these accidents ended in the release of radioactive material into the environment. Eighty-seven percent of all the accidents took place on the highway.

THAT LOS ANGELES television station which broadcast a tape recording of the Shah of Iran allegedly ordering his soldiers to "shoot freely and kill citizens" says it can prove the tape is real. Three voice analysts have backed up KNXT's claim. Said voice analyst Oscar Tossi, "I could send someone to the chair on this evidence." Both the Shah and the State Department have said the tape is a fake.

IF YOU ARE INTERESTED in why the press was so far off on Iran, we recommend the January/February issue of the Columbia Journalism Review, which contains an article, "Reporting Iran the Shah's Way." The authors, William A. Dorman and Ehsan Omeed, argue that culture, religion and ideology all provided blinders for western reporters and they neatly, and unrhetorically, examine such issues as the 'land reform' allegedly carried out under the shah. They ask, "Would it occur to American reporters covering the Vatican, for example, consistently to refer to priests in their every day garb as 'black-robed'?" For that matter, would it occur to a North-American reporter to refer to Latin American worker-priests as religious extremists or fanatics?" And they point out that "while the press has run many accounts of the lives of Russian dissidents and the terrors they face, it has been virtually silent on the plight of the typical Iranian who finds fault with the regime."

Not only that, but until last November, only one western paper, *Le Monde*, had bothered to do an extensive interview with Ayatollah Khomeini.

The authors say, "How the shah emerges as merely 'autocratic' and Somoza as a 'dictator' is at the heart of the matter." But, really, the explanation is quite simple, as has been pointed out by Mark Russell: we haven't discovered a way yet to run automobiles on bananas.



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